1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

customary to adopt a nephew or a young cousin of a lower generation as heir. Widowers usually re-marry, and a widower is not considered to be an unsuitable bridegroom for a girl, but custom is opposed to the re-marriage of widows, who if they do so, can bring nothing but their own clothes to their new home, and must leave behind everything that they received from their dead husband. In spite of this, widows quite often do marry again, but only if they have no children of their own.

In spite of the real limitations and disabilities which women suffer under this system,[1] they are far from being downtrodden and secluded. When a woman has given birth to children her position in the home is secured, and as she grows older her authority increases. When she becomes the head of the household, after her mother-in-law's death, she is the absolute mistress of the home. Men have very little control over the running of the house. They are not consulted even when it is a question of letting a part of the house to strangers, and the rent is paid to the mother, not the father or the eldest son. They may invite guests to dinner parties, and they can conduct the outside business of the family, though rarely without consulting their wives or mothers. It is often assumed that the hardship of these arranged marriages rests only on the bride, but for the husband, who finds himself married, for life in practice, to a termagant or a spitfire, the home becomes anything but a restful retreat. Many men in these circumstances find escape by engaging in business in some distant city, virtually leaving their homes in the posession of the unloved wife.

In western Yunnan modern medical science is still almost entirely unknown, and the ravages of epidemic diseases proceed virtually unchecked. The doctors who practise old-fashioned Chinese medicine are indeed capable

[1] i.e. the marriage system. --Analyst]

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

585 paternal uncles. The groom's family sends two boys ten-odd years old to escort her, and also two young girls. The bride and the groom bow to the house-god, to the parents and grandparents of the groom, to the groom's uncles, to the female relatives, then to all other friends, relatives, and guests. Then in the main room they drink tea.

On the day after the wedding the bride returns to her home. If it is near, she returns the same day. If it is far, she stays over night and returns the following day.

584 Sometimes two families who have both sons and daughters trade daughters and give with the daughters two boxes, bedding, and a few other articles. This saves a great deal of money.

597 If a family has daughters and no sons to continue the family name, it often adopts a son who is married to a daughter. He takes the name of the bride's family, and his children after him. The writer heard of a family in which this occurred for three generations.

587 Sometimes when an older brother dies leaving a widow, a younger brother marries the widow and the children born are reckoned as the children of the older brother. An older brother can not marry the widow of a younger brother.

A widow may take a husband who comes and lives in the family home. The children are considered the children of the first husband, and take his family name.

585 The priest is sometimes invited to perform a religious ceremony as a part of the wedding ceremonies. Burning cedar twigs as incense and chanting his liturgies, he informs the great gods, before the sacred white stone on the housetops, of the marriage and invokes the blessing of the gods, especially of Mu Bya Sei, upon the young couple.

4. Birth.

844 At Tsin To we were told that when a child is born the mother's parents give her a peck of rice, one hundred eggs, ten catties of pork, a bowl of *chiu mi* or wine rice, and clothing, a hat, and shoes for the baby. This custom also varies greatly with different families. A mid-wife helps the mother at childbirth. After the child is born the mother must not leave the house for thirty some-

The woman does not receive special callers. The Fantzu are equally 846
glad over the birth of a boy or a girl, because the girl can later
bring an adopted son into the household. There are no festivals after
a child is born; nor is there any kind of initiation ceremonies when 862
a youth reaches maturity.

Most of the work is done exclusively by the women. The men 462
pay each other visits - on horseback or on foot - and chat, the main
subject of conversation being the choice of pasturelands. The young
people are entrusted with the tending of the animals. The girls are
also required to gather yak dung for fuel. This work is also done by
the older women, but never by the men. The wives of the nomads
never go out to work as do the wives of the sedentary Fantzu, because
they are too busy taking care of the animals and the dairy.

The woman always has a decisive voice within the family, re- 562
gardless of whether her husband was adopted by her family or whether 593
she married into the family of her husband. In commercial deals, for
example, the woman has the final decision; the man /73/ if possi-
ble asks her approval before concluding any business transaction. It
can even happen that the woman beats her husband, but married
couples also beat each other. Relatives cannot interfere in a marriage.
If young married couples quarrel with their parents-in-law, they
move into another tent. In other cases three generations live in one
tent. There can be as many as 10 inhabitants of a tent, but the
average number is four - parents and two children. If a couple can- 586
not get along, the t'ou-mu[1] gives the verdict at the divorce proceed-
ings.

After the death of his wife, a man can remarry immediately, 587 ●
provided he has the necessary means; a widow can also remarry at 428
once. Orphans are taken in by the grandparents, if possible, or by
the nearest relatives. If his wife dies, a man keeps his children,
provided the wife has married into his family. If a man dies who
was adopted into the wife's family, the children remain with her
family, even though the family of a widow should adopt a second
husband for her. If the widow of an adopted husband marries into
another family, the children of the first marriage remain in the
maternal family.

If a man dies who was adopted as a son-in-law by a family,
the latter tries to find a new husband for the widow and a new son-
in-law as soon as possible. He then inherits the property of the
first husband, but must also take over the duties of providing for
the children of the first marriage. If the woman cannot soon marry

1[t'ou-mu = tribal chieftain --Analyst]

587 a man by adoption, or if she marries into another family, her grown
428 son, rather than herself, is the heir. She herself has no right to the personal fortune of her deceased husband, even if she has no grown son. The property of her husband is distributed equally among relatives and neighbors of the deceased, under the chieftain's supervision; or the fu-yeh of the lamasery /74/ in the district in which the deceased lived inherits the property, which he re-sells if he cannot use it himself. The personal property of a deceased mother is divided equally among her daughters and daughters-in-law. If there are no female survivors, it is sold and the proceeds go to the nearest relatives.

631 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu was formerly part of the Tibetan province of Amdo which became the provinces of Ch'inghai and Kansu. We still use the word Amdo for the region that lies west of the pasturelands of the Mewu-Fantzu. Formerly the territory was governed from the old part of the city of T'ao-chou. After the district of Hsia-ho was founded 10 years ago, it came under that administration. The district city of Hsia-ho developed from the market town that sprang up next to Labrang Lamasery. The Fantzu who belong to the Labrang Lamasery are called Na-fan-örl-she-si-tsu, Tibetan: Labrang gomba (meaning "temple") chala-diebu, and the Mewu-Fantzu are a tribe originating from these. It is said that a total of 108 lamaseries are subordinate to the great incarnation at Labrang. Only three of these are in the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu.

643 At the head of the Mewu-Fantzu is a tribal chieftain known as t'ou-mu, sometimes also t'u-szu; he has the title of Mewu-huan-pu. There are said to be 150 tent encampments under his jurisdiction, as well as the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu. A tent encampment consists of 10 to 40 tents. These figures seem very high to me, considering the extremely sparse settlement of the Mewu-Fantzu territory.

648 The t'ou-mu of the Mewu tribe is responsible to the Chinese district official (hsien-chang) of Hsia-ho in administrative matters, to the Huang-szu-ling (which may be roughly translated "General Huang"), i.e., the present t'u-szu of Labrang, in military matters, and to the Labrang Lamasery in religious matters.

"Huang-szu-ling" is the "t'u-szu" (feudal lord) of a large area, to which that of the Mewu-Fantzu belongs. Even after the fall of the Manchu Dynasty, the t'u-szu maintained considerable independence in the /75/ Chinese-governed border areas inhabited by non-Chinese peoples (Tibetans, Lolo, Tai). Taxes were paid to the t'u-szu, and in case of war they could recruit soldiers from their